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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1954

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ALBANIA

BRIEFS

VLORE NATIONAL FLAG CEREMONY--Tirana, 29 Nov (ATA)--Yesterday, on the day of the 69th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence, thousands of inhabitants of the hero city of Vlore and nearby villages, gathered in the historic square of the flag to attend the ceremony of hoisting the national flag. Present were also the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers Manush Myftiu and leading cadres of the organs of the party and state power in the district. [Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 29 Nov 81 AU]

LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY OBSERVED--Tirana, 29 Nov (ATA)--Today, on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution in Albania, homages were paid and wreaths were laid on the martyrs' graves of the homeland in Tirana. Weaths were laid on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, etc. The diplomatic corps accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania paid homage and laid a wreath on the martyrs' graves of the homeland. Attending the ceremony on the occasion was Jovan Antoni, chief of the protocol branch at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Tirana ATA in English 1700 GMT 29 Nov 81 AU]

CSO: 2020/13

'RUDE PRAVO' SCORES IMF AS NEOCOLONIALIST

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Nov 81 p 6

[Article by Ladislav Alster in response to question of a reader: "The International Monetary Fund"]

[Text] Our reader, M. Bobek from Kladno, asks: What is the IMF [International Monetary Fund] and what is its mission?

There is not a simple answer to this question, because the officially proclaimed mission of the IMF is one matter and its actual activity, as this has developed and manifested itself over the years, is another matter. Moreover, the sphere of activity of the IMF covers not only the fields of finance and economics, but likewise the area of politics. This activity is hidden, disputed, and one may say that it is underhanded, but it is very significant.

The IMF was established during the World War II, in 1944, on the basis of an agreement reached at Bretton Woods in the United States, for the development of international monetary cooperation and to support international trade. The fund is based in Washington. Along with the IMF, 1944 saw the founding as well of the IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development], which is referred to, more concisely, in economic circles as the World Bank. Both organizations complement each other in their activities and merge together in what amounts to a single unit. The IMF currently has 141 member countries. Every member country is required to contribute to the IMF a financial share, which is established individually by means of a so-called quota. This quota, or the size of the share, influences the possibility for drawing credits from the fund as well as the extent of the voting rights granted to a member country. But there is already a "cloven hoof" hidden in this provision, because the capital provided by the United States and its allies has absolute predominance in the capital of the IMF, and the United States exploits its influence in the fund aggressively.

Through this process the IMF, which had been formed as an affiliated organ of the United Nations for the development of the world economy, came in the course of time under the one-sided influence of the United States.

The history of the IMF may be divided, in terms of time, into two stages. At the beginning was the formation and the accounting for international monetary reserves on the basis of the so-called gold standard, and because the great majority of

world inventories on monetary gold had been accumulated in the United States after World War II, the American dollar became the primary reserve currency for the entire system. This in and of itself has led to the hegemony of the United States in international monetary relations.

The financial difficulties of the U.S. Government, especially its huge outlays for armaments and for various imperialistic wars and intervention, have however led to a gradual drain of gold from the United States and, as a result, to the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system.

In August 1971, the U.S. Government unilaterally terminated the convertibility of the dollar into gold, and in 1973 the capitalist world was forced to renounce the second fundamental principle of the system--fixed currency-exchange rates. There arose an unrestrained system of flexible exchange rates, creating the free play of supply and demand, often without regard for the actual economic situation. Speculative outbursts soon followed on the currency exchanges as well as chaos in the currency area, which may be described as a permanent currency crisis. In this situation as well, the IMF helps in maintaining the dominant position of the dollar, and thereby the United States and American monopolies in the capitalist world economy, this time however by other means. One of these means is the granting of credits. The IMF, at the same time, often intervenes in the internal financial and currency policies of debtor countries, forcing them into what are for them unfavorable ties to private American financial capital, and resisting changes in their economic structures which would lead to a loosening of the economic dependence of these countries on the major imperialistic powers, above all the United States.

When, for instance, the IMF advances currency credits to a certain country, it also dictates to this country harsh measures for stabilizing its balance of payments. Typically this is a matter of slowing down the speed of economic development, freezing or slowing down growth in wages, increasing taxes, limiting budgetary outlays for social needs, of limitations in the area of credit (including consumer credit), the elimination of import controls, currency devaluations, etc. These measures forced on debtor countries often lead to an increase in unemployment and to increased prices for basic consumer goods.

The destructive consequences of this kind of "assistance" may be illustrated with the case of Turkey. In recent years, the Turkish pound has been devaluated on the average of once every 3 weeks, on the basis of IMF recommendations. The result has been a huge increase in inflation. While in the middle of the sixties the average annual increase in inflation amounted to less than 10 percent, in 1980 it had already risen to 100 percent! Real wages of the workers of the country declined 41 percent between 1976 and 1979. In 1979, the IMF even required that Turkey limit its bilateral trade relations with socialist and developing countries, which are completely transparent conditions of a political character.

Currently in the IMF, credits are granted in so-called special drawing rights. This is an artificial accounting and payment unit, the value of which is currently calculated on the basis of a basket of five currencies--the American dollar, the West German mark, the French franc, the Japanese yen, and the British pound sterling--and which, as of 30 September this year, had a value of \$1.144 American. Since 1970, when this unit was introduced, a total of 21.4 billion have been issued

and loaned. The IMF, however, also grants credits in national currencies, especially in dollars. I might add that the dollar in no way replaces special drawing rights, on the contrary, these form, figuratively speaking, a kind of protective wrapper for the American currency.

The IMF, however, also grants a large amount of credits in conjunction with large capitalist, mainly American, banks, or the banks "mediate" the granting of these credits. The debtor country, then, must pay the bank usurious interest rates--20 percent and more--and at the same time accept the harsh conditions of the IMF. Experience with this so-called parallel granting of credits teaches that this guileful IMF mechanism has succeeded in creating, in a number of countries, an economic regime favorable for the penetration and strengthening of international capital, even at the price of supporting fascist regimes. A fine example of this is Chile, as a study group of the publication ISSUES OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM recently concluded. The analysis conducted by this group led to the conclusion that the IMF is an instrument of the class policy of monopolistic circles, an instrument of imperialism.

A similar conclusion was reached last year by an international conference on the role of the IMF which took place in the Tanzanian city of Arusha. Delegates from 24 countries, most of them developing countries, agreed on the position that the IMF has already lost the justification for its existence and must under no circumstances merely be reformed, but must be fully replaced by a new international monetary institution. It was stated at this conference that the current conditions for the activity of the IMF are "foreign and unacceptable" for most countries. Quite recently, the UN Decolonization Committee sharply criticized the IMF for its cooperation with the racists of South Africa.

This year's anniversary session of the IMF in Washington at the beginning of October bore the clear stamp of the United States, which forced on the entire session an orientation toward the economic policy of the Reagan Government. President Reagan, right in his opening address, set himself sharply against an increase in loans and credits for developing countries and suggested that the poor countries "put their own economic houses in order."

It is then possible to advance the conclusion that the IMF acts above all as one of the most important instruments of neocolonialism, discriminates against progressive countries and movements and, on the contrary, supports reactionary and terrorist regimes. This fund is one of the sustaining bastions of capitalism in the struggle against socialism and progress.

"What is good for the United States is also good for the IMF," cynically declared an American representative in 1946. This "principle" continues to apply today just as before.

Czechoslovakia was one of the founding members of the IMF, contributed its membership quota of \$125 million, but never derived any benefits from membership. On the contrary, the IMF applied discriminatory measures against Czechoslovakia and required--during the cold war--full information concerning our national economy, the publication of which would have affected the security of our state. Because it proved impossible to overcome the incessant pressure of the pro-American voting machinery of the IMF, Czechoslovakia resigned from the fund on 4 May 1955.

9276

CSO: 2400/71

MAJOR GENERAL INTERVIEWED ON MODERNIZATION OF TROOP TRAINING

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian No 36, 5 Sep 81 p 8

[Interview with Major General Istvan Narai, the general mechanized gunner and tank-crew training department head and deputy inspector general of the Hungarian Army, by Gabor Szakaly; date and place not specified]

[Text] We are facing a test period for both officers and enlisted men. The test is represented by converting to 18-month military service and by modernizing troop training. For a unified explanation of the joint tasks and of the everyday tasks of execution, Gabor Szakaly, columnist for our newspaper, spoke with Major General Istvan Narai, the general mechanized gunner and tank-crew training department head and deputy inspector general of the Hungarian Army.

[Question] After studying the experiences, ideas and documents that form the basis for the modernization of troop training, many persons raised the question: What brought it about, what made it possible to reduce service time and to modernize training?

[Answer] The experiences of the military leadership, including of course those serving with the troops, have clearly shown that the general education level of the drafted soldier has increased and is increasing, his military defense knowledge is increasing and his preliminary military training has improved. Entering youth obviously are capable of learning military knowledge in a shorter time than before and of acquiring the everyday practice necessary for carrying out various assignments. At the same time, according to earlier experiences, the greater preliminary military training of our enlisted men is accompanied by greater industry and discipline, and these two together may serve as the basis for fulfilling higher level tasks. The preparedness of the officers and cadres in our army has fortunately increased as well; in addition their practical experience is constantly growing. The combat techniques of our army have constantly developed, and the training bases to promote everyday preparation have increasingly more modern means available. As a result of all these things, we can report constantly improving training achievements and the soundness of our subunits and troops. The grounds are given for work of a higher level.

[Question] In these days, the manuals describing troop training have been delivered to every military organization, inclusively to the units, and include primarily the general inspector's training instructions and the new training programs. What kinds of major tasks do the troops face, Comrade Major General, and to what training branches and areas do you call attention?

[Answer] First, I would like to emphasize several circumstances and certain organization principles. In weighing the tasks and duties, every commander must consider that we need to realize the conversion to 18-month service together with maintenance of combat readiness at a high level and continuous modernization of combat techniques; that is to say, preparation and training modernization. But in no way does the shorter service time mean a reduction in the preparation requirements. Our commanders and the participants in training must well understand that the requirements have remained, and in fact in some cases have even been raised. Moreover, it is a primary requirement that the subunits and the outfits should ensure combat preparedness at a high level, learn to handle and use the means of battle technology and acquire the capability and readiness that assure success in combat. In respect to the comprehensive and proportional quality of our army, this represents no small task for our commanders and soldiers. This is particularly true since the shorter period of military service is accompanied by reduced training time. And we must also take into account that the costs that can be expended on training cannot be significantly increased while the requirements are unchanged or increased.

Considering all these things, our troops can assure their preparation for successful modern warfare by correctly interpreting tasks deriving from the modernization of training, by organizing and executing these tasks more effectively and at a higher level and by intensifying our party political work. This, however, is possible only if we all perform higher level work than before. Our young soldiers must learn their military knowledge with greater application and devotion and acquire practice. Our officers, on the other hand, must more effectively organize training and everyday life, do more for the wider circulation of good experiences and not least of all struggle with all their strength to eliminate possible errors, particularly weaknesses in planning-organizing work.

Our officers may receive information on the modernization of troop training from many sources--at various lectures, party and KISZ [Hungarian Youth League] membership meetings, staff meetings and the military press. Two matters of basic importance are the improvement of general military training and making planning-organizing work more efficient.

In enumerating the list of concrete tasks, let me start with the very important principle, or requirement, that the individual soldiers, or the subunits, must be taught, or must learn, all those things that soldiers individually and the subunits and units collectively must do for successful combat. To this end, an obvious solution was the omission of superfluous materials according to our experience. We did in fact omit these from the training program. But this is only the first step. There is, at the least, need to assure that the instructors do not burden the soldiers, with superfluous learning matter not germane to the goal. Another warning example is this: they should not seek to instruct the soldiers at a college level in the operation, composition and maintenance of the radio, the tank, the artillery shell, the chemical materials and so forth but to the degree necessary for the young soldier in a given assignment. And this must be taught perfectly, or learned perfectly--learned by practice!

On the basis of the foregoing principles we studied the general military training that is obligatory for every soldier and subunit and we decided on the requirements. On one hand, we concluded that as a result of the introduction of school defense training, or even more as a result of the pretraining work of the MSZ [Hungarian Sport Federation for National Defense], we could omit certain phases. For example, rifle range training does not unconditionally need to be started with aiming the rifle, and it is not necessary to explain to the recruit what is the "front" of the gas mask. Thus, among other things, the time available for technical training, defense against weapons of mass destruction, health protection and the knowledge of war provisions is somewhat reduced.

Experience dictates that we strengthen our training in other areas. With a number of weapon types, chiefly with specialized units, it was evident that general military training had been neglected. But now preparation for modern warfare requires that the soldiers in specialized units devote greater attention to the use of their individual weapons and means of defense, to the defense of collective combat and other technical means and to their positions or to acquire adequate practice, among other things, in combat mobility on the terrain, in defense against diversion and in the devices of hand-to-hand combat, in fighting military helicopters and the better use of their weapons in the defense of their military equipment. The most modern technology and the best professional knowledge is worthwhile only if coupled with many-sided preparation. Therefore, the task is still valid: we must continue with high-level, acknowledged professional work, but we must raise our general military training and preparation to the same level.

Better general preparation is also served by the fact that hand-to-hand combat in physical training has become an independent subject area. The officers have already been prepared for teaching this; in the training period now beginning it is the turn of the enlisted men to learn the basic holds and to use these in specialized training activities. It is, for example, only the question of a command decision whether in establishing a radio station, ship, warehouse, or in occupying an area they should arrange for diversionary action or its prevention.

Firing range practice must also be adjusted to the new demands. For example, the number of firing exercises has been reduced, accompanied by a savings in time and energy; at the same time we made practice more complex and effective. It simplifies the planning and execution work since in a given training period every soldier within a subunit must carry out the same number of individual weapons, group firing exercises with the goal, for example, that the commander of a piece of ordnance be capable of directing a subunit to defend itself or annihilate the enemy. We also thought of such characteristic tasks as this: the soldiers of the commandant (komendans) and guard subunits must have particularly great practice in impromptu (kapas) firing. We are introducing into the program drill training in the interest of the enlisted men's physical preparedness. There is a great deal of opposition in various places, but we cannot permit the subunits to go to a practice field, which is only 2 kilometers opposite the barracks, in vehicles only because they are so-called mechanized artillery. We must strengthen their legs, improve their physical condition. At the end of their basic training the new recruits, for example, must be able to march 13 to 15 kilometers, which subsequently can be increased to 25 to 30 kilometers.

Among the tasks an expanded role has been given to the new "Service Regulation and Rule Information," which has given an increased number of hours to state security, accident prevention, work and fire protection, environmental protection, transportation and mobility instruction.

Even in working out the program there were complaints that the time allotted for formal (alaki) training was too little. That is true if certain commanders think of such activities only literally. Everyone should regard formal in a broader sense and would add to it reveille, clothing inspection, command announcement activities and other formations and parades.

In concluding, I would like to emphasize that general military training must be raised to the level of specialized training in the interest of everyone and of the results!

[Question] Comrade Major General, you emphasized planning-organizing work as the other essential area of ideas. Let me precede this subject with an opinion expressed among the subunit commanders. They would like to have greater independence in determining what and how much instruction should be imparted in a given period of time to the subunits they know well.

[Answer] Your conversation partners are knocking on an open door in various aspects. Let me quote from the pertinent prescriptions of the training inspection measures, which state: "The number of hours set in the training programs for training branches and subject areas are guidance numbers that the unit commander may rearrange excepting the number of hours set for basic training, political instruction, physical training and the days prescribed for combat exercises." In the final analysis those who raised this question can decide how much time they will give for instructing their soldiers--the subunits they know well, to use their words--in the prescribed subjects. Beyond the procedural guides there are hardly any strict limitations even in the manner of execution, only a possible version. The essence is this: the fulfillment of the prescribed requirements should be in the most effective and purposeful execution possible.

A very important condition, requirement of this effectiveness, purposefulness--in a word, its base--is purposeful and circumspect planning and organizing work. There has been no essential change in the order of general planning as compared to what preceded. However, the new tasks, the modern technology and the additional and better-equipped training bases require more careful planning for their solution. This is eased on one hand by the unified system of enlistment and discharge, and on the other hand by the fact that the measures of the training inspector, which are valid for a number of years, are available to the units. This basic manual, which has been prepared for everyone, reduces the need for preparing training documents from the divisions down to the subunits, and it eliminates the practice whereby in many places "books" were prepared instead of measures taken, which were then passed down and frequently repeated literally with inexact content.

The new measure makes the task--their explanation and application by commanders at every level--more clear, concrete and simple. The task agreement also excludes variations from the central requirements.

Let me add another thought here. Assistance to the economy and troop training will continue also as the task of the units. The old practice, to be sure, has disturbed the preparation of the subunits in many places in that it "lifted" the specialized workers from the squadrons and sections, and the remaining defective subunits could not be successfully welded together. A certain artillery unit defended itself against this, for example, by assigning as turret gunners only soldiers without specialization and with less than 8 years of general schooling, saying "these won't be taken away, they will surely remain at their jobs." All this is helped on one hand by the fact that the training program makes it possible from the outset--plans, that is--the modification of the 2-week or 1-month training to the extent necessary in the interest of the economy. On the other hand, a chief-of-general-staff measure allows, for the unit troop training and barracks maintenance tasks, placing in the individual subunits the trained soldier with specialized training in their second or third phase. Of course, so-called "form-maintenance" training should be conducted also in these subunits. Frankly, we expect a great deal from the fulfillment of this measure for making training a smoother process in the other subunits.

[Question] In recognition of the tasks and the expectations, we may conclude that, with the introduction of the 18-month service time and the modernization of troop training, the burden will be even greater on the officers and noncommissioned officers. To what extent do you, Comrade Major General, agree with this view?

[Answer] The concern is justified only at those places not adequately using the prescribed training time--on the basis of our experience, the use of activity time is 50 to 60 percent--in places where the time spent on practice fields and rifle ranges is not intensive enough; where the reserve officer candidates and the noncommissioned officers are not trained as rapidly as possible for the practical carrying out of assignments that can be fulfilled in the subunits; and where the troops are not brought into everyday life--and I could continue in this way. I have already given the answer to your question: I do not agree that there will be too great a burden. One thing will certainly grow: the professional work and the intellectual work that accompany the demand for higher-level, everyday activity. If the comrades you mention are thinking of this additional work, indeed the requirements have been increased for higher-level, more effective and therefore more successful work. The general and professional preparedness of the officers--as I have already said--is increasingly of a higher level. I take this opportunity to wish all the troops strength, health and success for the work that means a new test.

[Question] Comrade Major General, I thank you for the interview.

6691

CSO: 2500/56

THIRD EXTRAORDINARY ZSP CONGRESS REPORTED

Report, First Conclusions

Warsaw WALKA MŁODYCH in Polish 3 May 81 p 2

[Text] The 3rd Extraordinary Congress of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] began its deliberations on 23 April, preceded the day before by a closed procedural session. Originally, the conclusion of deliberations was envisaged for Saturday, 25 April. However, the discussion became drawn out and at the moment when this issue is going to press (Monday, 27 April), deliberations are still continuing. Representatives of the highest political and state authorities participated in the opening of the Congress including Stanislaw Kania, Henryk Jablonski, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Stanislaw Gucwa and Edward Kowalczyk. Introductory remarks to the discussion were delivered by the outgoing chairman of the Main Board--Andrzej Koltek. Stanislaw Kania spoke on behalf of the party leadership. The program discussion was heard by representatives of the leadership of youth unions as well as trade unions including the Independent Self-governing Trade Union [NSZZ] "Solidarity." Upon the request of the delegates, the discussion proceedings were observed, during all the days of deliberations, by members of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR], members of the government and by representatives of individual ministries. On the third day of deliberations, Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski made his appearance; while on Sunday, an "hour of sincerity" was held during which members of the leading party and government authorities including Kazimierz Barcikowski, answered questions submitted by the delegates. The Statute Commission worked hard in preparing a new ZSMP statute, which was subsequently agreed upon in detail and passed by an overwhelming majority of delegates. The Commission for Resolutions and Recommendations spent its days working with equal diligence. The Congress accepted, among other things, a new plan of action for the ZSMP; a position on economic reform, on the issue of shaping the environment and policies in regard to rural communities and food management; the rights of young people to participate in culture and international matters as well as in matters of education and upbringing. A resolution was also passed in regard to cooperation between youth unions and also on the matter of youth branches and press, which until now were subordinate to the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth [FSZMP]. The Congress held an election of the supreme authorities. The chairman of the Main Board, elected directly by the delegates, was Jerzy Jas-kiernia from Krakow who until now was the chairman of the Main Peer Court and a science employee at the Jagiellonian University.

Resolution of Congress

Warsaw WALKA MŁODYCH in Polish 10 May 81 p 2

[Text] The substance of the August protest of the working [labor] class was dissension towards the occurrence of the dismantling of moral values, falsification of reality, dominance of egoism and the separation of words and deeds.

The driving force behind "Polish August" was the resolve and determination of young people including many members of our Union. The organization structures did not keep pace with the active participation of ZSMP members, thus, causing the general demand, proceeding from the rank and file, for the calling together of an Extraordinary ZSMP Congress.

The basic task of the 3rd Congress was the complete merging of the organization into the mainstream of changes occurring in the country, laying out the principle directions of activity, reforming the work style in accordance with the need at the time and the expectations of the young generation. We have learned a lot at this Congress, although, it did not come easily. However, we had to go through this difficult lesson on democracy with many hidden dangers.

The Congress was decidedly in favor of strengthening the ZSMP as a political and militant, open, multiregional [wielosrodowiskowej] organization, bringing up youth in the spirit of socialist ideals.

We act in ideological unity with the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR]. In a strong party and authenticity, we seek out the important element for the successful development of socialist Poland and, therefore:

--we turn to our members, who are in the party ranks, for the effective dissemination of the idea that the future of the party and the nation lies in the upbringing of the new generation,

--in acknowledging the need for improving cooperation with the PZPR, we favor independence, mutual trust and honest criticism,

--the Congress obliges the ZSMP Main Board [ZG] to submit to the Ninth PZPR Congress, a catalogue on matters concerning youth, which need to be solved in party and national policies,

--the Congress obliges delegates--members of the PZPR--to carry over the content of the Union's output to the forum of meetings, conferences and the party's Ninth Congress.

We favor cooperation with the entire trade movement--Independent Self-governing Trade Union [NSZZ] "Solidarity," branch unions and autonomous unions. We seek our ally in trade unions in the fight for the interests of rural and urban youth as well as a partner for initiatives, which serve the social good and improvement of living conditions.

We feel that cooperation between all youth organizations lies in the interest of the young generation.

We turn to the members of these organizations for the creation of a joint fighting front for our common concerns.

The Congress recognizes these accepted, basic documents:

--Ideological Declaration--which describes the socialist and open character of the Union,

--Program Declaration--which favors the full utilization of rank and file program initiatives and a militant character of the ZSMP,

--The Statute together with the Regulation of the Main Audit Commission and the Main Peer Court as the guarantee of the democratization of Union life.

The most important problems of youth and the attitude towards the methods of solving them are contained in the adopted positions, decisions and resolutions:

--The position of the ZSMP on the issue of a young family's living conditions,

--position on the issue of policies towards rural communities and the food economy,

--declaration and position on the issue of basic assumptions of economic reform,

--position on the issue of the shaping and protection of the environment,

--position on the issue of education and upbringing,

--position on the issue of the right young people to share in culture,

--position on international issues,

--resolution of the 3rd ZSMP Congress on the matter of cooperation between youth unions,

--resolution of the 3rd ZSMP Congress on the issue of youth branches and press, which until now were subordinate to the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth [FSZMP].

In actively joining the renewal process of the Union, the Congress resolves:

--to conduct a report-election campaign in Union elements and echelons directly following the conclusion of the Congress,

--to perform a detailed evaluation of the leadership and work of ZSMP echelons on all levels and to conduct an analysis of the causes for the increase of errors and weaknesses in our organization,

--to introduce the principle of tenure employment for all full-time political ZSMP employees, in order that they fulfill an ancillary role towards social bodies and Union authorities,

--to obligate the ZG ZSMP to promptly and effectively regulate the principles of according positions [employment] in places of employment and in basic echelons of our union.

An important mission of the Union is to assume comprehensive activity for the benefit of creating ZSMP circles in all work, science and residential communities.

Work in post elementary school communities of all types as well as in rural areas and urban communities, requires our particular attention.

The Congress acknowledges the need for the urgent examination of the content and methods of political instruction, recognizing the full truth about the history of the youth, labor and national movement as an important condition for a more complete formation of social awareness. Regional programs resulting from the initiatives of circles and echelons, will be elaborated by regional councils while maintaining the principle of observing program directions passed by the Congress.

The 3rd Extraordinary Congress acknowledges that:

--recommendations made during the pre-Congress session, remarks and recommendations made during the plenary discussion of the Congress;

--the report of the Presidium of ZG ZSMP;

--positions and recommendations of all problem solving teams;

--all essential recommendations presented at the 3rd ZSMP Congress constitute the material of the Congress.

This material makes up the integral part of the resolution, which is the basis for the finalization and enrichment of the Union's program activities.

The Congress notes the low participation of youth--including representatives of our Union--in the practical conducting of authority and influence on solving young people's problems.

For this reason:

--we affirm the necessity of creating an institutional form of cooperation with the government;

--we oblige all echelons of ZSMP to fight for their share in authority and to conscientiously use their acquired authority in the interest of youth;

--the Congress obliges the ZG ZSMP to propose to young delegates to come out with the initiative, before the Sejm, of creating a Circle of Young Delegates;

--the Main Board will call together a Team of Delegates, who are ZSMP members, as a platform to serve the elaboration of the Union's position on issues presented for deliberations of the Sejm.

The Congress favors the active participation of young people in the shaping of cadre policy.

The 3rd Extraordinary ZSMP Congress establishes the institution of the honorary member of ZSMP and obliges the Main Board to elaborate the principles and procedures of according it.

The Congress obliges ZG ZSMP to take up all activity, which has for its goal, to turn over to youth and its socialist unions--the J. Krasicki Center in Limanowa and to initiate and conduct activity in it, worthy of the name of the hero of Polish youth.

ZSMP Program Declaration

Warsaw WALKA MŁODYCH in Polish 10 May 81 p 3

[Text] We unite voluntarily in the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP), without placing ideological and regional barriers before anyone.

The ideals of socialism unite us: freedom, equality and social justice. Common interests and goals bring us together.

We are deeply aware of our joint responsibility for Poland's future and present. We want to take the matters and fate of our generation into our hands; to fight for the right to dignified work and a good life; the right to equal opportunity for advancement and development.

We want to shape our nation's life, to create a better tomorrow in our socialist Homeland and to decide about our own matters.

We speak clearly about our goals and our program:

--we do everything possible in order to live in peace today and in the future; in an atmosphere of recognition for good work, respect and tolerance in interpersonal relationships;

--we develop activity for the benefit of patriotic and defensive upbringing of youth;

--we take action against every case of human injustice, the breaking of the law and order and the accumulating of wealth at the expense of others;

--we fight all signs of waste and mismanagement, which diminish the effects of our work;

--we create a plane of socio-political instruction, the exchange of opinions and mutual support, in such a way as to find ourselves and our place in life.

We must indicate, take on and solve matters that have a fundamental meaning for the young generation, more actively and effectively.

WE FIGHT FOR:

- the elimination of unjust social disproportions;
- equal rights for all Poles;
- decreasing differences between living and working conditions in the city and in rural areas;
- the spreading of moral values and the forming of a sense of responsibility for one's own words and actions;
- the whole truth about our nation's history.

In striving for a solution to the most important social problems we shall fight for:

- the rapid implementation of complete economic reform, the staffing of positions in accordance with professional qualifications and organizational abilities;
- the equal rights development of all agricultural sectors with the guarantee of the profitability of agricultural production;
- proper land management;
- the recognition of the family peasant farm as a stable element of the socialist economy;
- the observance of the right of honest and reliable people to work;
- suitable working conditions, which are safe for life and health;
- truly equal access of youth from working-class and peasant families to all school and learning institutions; the raising of teaching standards in rural areas and in small towns;
- the shaping and satisfying of the socio-professional and cultural aspirations of working class and peasant youth and of young people living in small towns.

WE FIGHT FOR:

- the right to housing for young people;
- the right to family happiness.

WE FIGHT:

- for the creation of conditions for full participation in cultural life and the development of the amateur artistic movement;
- for the creation of conditions for the general relaxation of children and youth, particularly, from rural areas; the development of various forms of team sports and recreation;

--for the effective protection of man's natural environment;

--for the expansion of health and preventive care;

--against social plagues: drunkenness, hooliganism, corruption and the causes of such phenomena.

We consider it to be our duty to express ourselves on vital issues of the young generation, at all levels of representative and self-governing bodies. We will create conditions for the representation of our interests on their forum, specifically through:

--the presenting of candidates to representative organs on the basis of equal rights with the remaining members of the National Unity Front [FJN];

--the active participation of our representatives in the work of these organs;

--presenting to society and to the proper national organs--opinions, expertise and proposals for the resolution of specific issues concerning youth.

In improving the work style of the Union, we will:

--strengthen the rank and significance of social forms of planning, guidance and control of Union life;

--strengthen the work of circles, which should independently seek program solutions and their own forms of activity;

--observe the principles of the ancillary role of echelons and full-time cadres in regard to circles and basal organizations;

--maintain complete openness of organizational life;

--strengthen solidarity among Union members as well as friendship and mutual trust.

We look for ideological inspiration for activity, based on the above Declaration, in the program of the PZPR. We cooperate with the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD].

We declare cooperation with the trade movement of the Independent Self-governing Trade Union [NSZZ] "Solidarity," branch unions and autonomous unions. We seek our ally in the trade unions, in the fight for the interests of youth and a partner for initiatives, which serve the social good and improvement of living conditions.

On behalf of the foremost interests of the young generation, we confirm our readiness to cooperate with all youth organizations, on the basis of respect for our goals and plans of action.

9853

CSO: 2600/66

ZHP SUPREME COUNCIL PLENUM REPORTED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 5 Oct 81 pp 1, 2

[Article by Magda Rulska: "Unity Demands Tolerance"]

[Text] The current situation in the ZHP was the principal topic of debate during the 2-day plenary proceedings of the Supreme Council of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] (3-4 Oct 1981).

In his address introducing the discussion period Andrzej Ornat stated that in many respects the ZHP is a different organization than it was one year ago. He said that these differences are manifested in the mood that prevails within the organization, in the repudiation of offensive, politically inspired propaganda campaigns, and in the focusing of attention on programs of an educational nature. Commenting on the recent initiatives made by the A. Malkowski Scoutmasters Caucus [KIHAM], the commander-in-chief made the following statement: "What we wanted to do was to learn how to work together to publicize our most outstanding accomplishments. And no one had any illusions about the fact that the road upon which we had embarked would be strewn with rose petals. But this is the road we decided to follow. But the realization of this goal was and still is predicated on putting our minds to it, making a sincere commitment in this direction, and, most importantly, displaying a spirit of mutual tolerance.... An independent policy line is not synonymous with a willful disregard for the decisions made by the congress. The unity of the ZHP," said A. Ornat, "has never been in such great danger as it is now. And we ourselves are the prime source of this danger. There is no need to go looking for it outside the organization. ...However, we cannot afford to lose our patience. It is most important that we join our many forces into one force...."

A great deal has happened to our organization since the last plenum of the Supreme Council. The ranks of the Independent Scouting Movement have grown. Solidarity declared its support for the independent movement in its congress draft resolution. On 13 September the KIHAM Consultative Council published its own text of the scouts oath. The Supreme Council and its presidium have already taken a stand in response to the first two of the above developments. The members of the Council were very much alarmed by the KIHAM decision, which runs counter to the provisions of documents currently in force (the statute, the official version of the scouts oath, and the resolution of the Seventh Congress of the ZHP).

There were two dominant themes during the debate. The first of these themes amounted to an expression of alarm over this--as it was described--act of insubordination. Marek Wardecki said that scouts must be united by something beyond the fact that they all wear the same uniform. If they really want to stick together in one Union, they must reach a consensus on a single ideal of civic education that is acceptable to everyone. In this case the index of the strength of this consensus is, among other things, and this in fact is the crucial issue, the text of the scouts oath. To tolerate the validity of several such oaths, said the next discussant, the commander of the Lodz Troop, would in effect lead to sowing the seeds of dissension among our children. The unity of the ZHP is based on the dedication of all of its members to goals that are grounded in matters of principle. And this in fact is the conclusion that was reached a mere 6 months ago by the supreme forum of the ZHP.

In many of the statements that were made suggestions were raised to the effect that, at such an important moment in the history of our organization, an effort should be made to solicit the views of rank-and-file scoutmasters. Several of the discussants asserted that consideration should be given to the possibility of convening an extraordinary congress or perhaps moving up the date for the convening of the next regularly scheduled congress. But it is absolutely certain, said the members of the Supreme Council, that we cannot regard the things which we have accomplished up to this point as being representative of the best that we could do. It is necessary to carry on with our debate, to give careful heed to the views of ZHP members, and to look upon these views as representing the raw material for the drafting of future official documents. But for the time being we are all obliged to respect the decisions made by the last congress, and nothing or no one has released us from our obligation to implement these decisions.

A radically different position was advanced by Andrzej Jaczewski. The situation in the scouting movement, he said, is a reflection of what is happening in society at large. Young people are impatient, militant, and desirous of change. We are not going to get anywhere by entrenching ourselves in positions based on a literal interpretation of the law. It may yet come to pass that the governing bodies of the scouting movement will survive, but maybe there will no longer be any scouts left on whom these bodies can exercise an influence. He concluded by noting that we should quit being so inflexible, for, if we fail to do so, it may happen that the scouting movement will go on to experience a revival in which we will play no part.

As for the wording of the scouts oath that was adopted by the scoutmasters who belong to KIHAM, it was acknowledged that this decision was motivated by the word "socialism" which appears in the text of the oath approved by the ZHP congress. It is no wonder, said A. Jaczewski, that the Malkowski-ites repudiated this word. I myself--and I do not think of myself as being some kind of nitwit--do not understand the meaning of this word....

The idea proposed by A. Jaczewski (legalizing activities not sanctioned by the ZHP statute for the sake of ZHP unity) was not endorsed by the majority. What actually happened was that a resolution was passed which reads as follows: "The situation in which the organization now finds itself requires that a concerted effort should be made by all forces within the ZHP and by those who wish it well to give everyone who so wishes an opportunity to play an active role in the scouting movement and make whatever contribution they can to shielding children from the consequences of the

current crisis.... Independent policy-making practices, the principles of self-government, and tolerance for the beliefs of others must be respected by everyone who cherishes the values of the scouting movement. The multiplicity of world views represented within the ZHP has to mean that all of its members have a duty to learn how to be tolerant. The social values of socialism are one of the sources of the scouting ideal of civic education.... There is room within the scouting movement for diverse movements that espouse different policies and different methodologies as long as they respect the ZHP statute. The decision made by the KIHAM Consultative Council is incompatible with the provisions of the ZHP statute.... This is the reason why we are appealing for a revision of this decision and for a commitment to forego any actions which might be interpreted as an attempt to break up the ZHP."

In addition, on the strength of a resolution passed by its presidium and by the appropriate subcommittee, the Supreme Council also committed itself to holding talks with the KIHAM Consultative Council for the purpose of resolving the problems presented by the present situation.

The Supreme Council plenum went on to adopt a new set of organizational rules and regulations, a six-grade system of scout and explorer scout ranks, a code of rules and regulations governing the display of scout banners, rules governing the merger of scout troops, and a code of rules and regulations on scout uniforms, badges, and insignias.

11813

CSO: 2600/50

COMPETITION BETWEEN NZS AND SZSP DISCUSSED

Warsaw STUDENT in Polish 8-21 Oct 81 p 4

[Article by Marek Siwiec, chairman, SZSP District Council, Krakow: "Is There No Third Choice?"]

[Text] The beginning of a new year prompts one to summarize the past 12 months and to conjecture about the future. In retrospect, the fundamental question is: Did the students and their organizations take advantage of their opportunities in the renewal? They hardly did.

In the struggle over self-government, the school employees dominated. True enough, at the time of the strikes, the fundamental school conflict between teachers and students receded. (The conflict does not concern the purpose of the study, but it does cause the course of studies to be treated different.) Nonetheless, when self-government wins in the schools, everything will return to traditional norms. On the one hand the students, and on the other the school authorities and employees, will wish to tighten discipline and increase the effectiveness of studies. The sugarcoated relationship with the academic cadre is not a long-term situation.

Students have been forced into a system with two poles--the NZS [Independent Association of Students] and the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students]; most of them do not wish to choose any organization. We may stop to consider what really divides the NZS and the SZSP. The experiences of the past year have shown that the question at issue is the relationship to authority. Public opinion views the matter simply; i.e., it sees the NZS as an antigovernment organization and the SZSP as a progovernment organization. Obviously, the public perception of these organizations changes according to the popularity of those in power. Both the NZS and the SZSP have been searching frantically for an identity. The NZS has devoted nearly all its energies to supporting the activities of Solidarity. The mystery of the NZS continues to be how to reconcile the independence of the organization with an uncritical relationship to authority over the long term. History teaches us that sooner or later something must be abandoned.

The character of the SZSP's relationships with other organizations, and particularly with the PZPR, is much more complex. The SZSP does not identify itself a priori with the program of action and [text illegible] the ideology of any

party. This fact results from the principle of the total self-government of the union, as adopted at its congress. Of course, the SZSP can enter into alliances, support the actions of some organizations and criticize other organizations. The PZPR should seem the natural ally of the union, since the statutory goal of both is the building of socialism. In practice, however, the understanding of the regulations issuing from the principles of socialism is often at variance in the PZPR and the SZSP. The union recognizes the constitutional structure of Poland and implements its program within the framework of this structure. Perhaps the SZSP, in its candid criticism of both the PZPR and Solidarity, risks standing alone. However, what are most important are one's own identity and the credibility from this identity.

What will the new academic year bring? If we survey the entire student milieu, two scenarios come into view. Which will actually take place depends primarily upon the development of the national situation.

The Moderately Pessimistic Variant

We may envision that the clinch in the social situation will still hold fast. The confrontation will shift from the base to the superstructure. Higher schools are a particularly enticing testing ground. The NZS will concentrate on the battle with the SZSP. According to the scenario of the past year, it will build its position on the total negation of all that the SZSP implements and proposes. We may also expect restitutive demands concerning SZSP property. Such action will probably elicit the same reaction from the SZSP. Unfortunately, the effect of such a situation will be the total disintegration of students and the real (and not merely the formal) antagonism of member groups. What makes such a situation even more pathological is the fact that it would set up a system of endless confrontation, devoid of any opportunity to determine even the most important common interests of students. In the event of direct consolidation between the NZS and Solidarity, the trade union might use this student association in an action that it would find awkward to perform. A resolution of the NZS Congress concerning the prohibition of cooperation with the SZSP, the past year's activities and several vacation resolutions of the NZS National Coordinating Commission all speak for the possibility of this variant. He who rejects any sort of understanding negates the existing partners and aspires to dominate the environment. It is a bad omen.

The Moderately Optimistic Variant

We may envision that instead of the model of permanent confrontation we will have the model of organizations competing with one another or simply complementing one another. This sounds like utopia and is rather unrealistic for the near future. However, it would be the optimal situation. What is necessary to bring it about? Above all, the existing organizations must recognize the existence of the others. No organization's activities should be based merely upon a program of negation. If constructive programs emanated from the real needs of students, they would have several points in common. Such programs should designate areas of indispensable cooperative action among organizations. Successful communication would make possible the representation of student interests in general to state authorities. No self-government will be able to fulfill this role, since its actions will be limited to the school grounds.

Given this situation, let us look at the prospects for the SZSP. The nature of this organization's tasks will be contingent primarily upon whether the milieu accepts the program and political proposals of the union.

Since its creation, a peculiar union-political dualism has characterized the organization. The organizational formula has been criticized by some as a basic compromise of spirit and matter, while others have admired it as an opportunity to reconcile vitality and strength with their political realization. As we consider the future of the SZSP till the Fourth Congress (which will take place during the current academic year), we must analyze two tendencies currently represented in the union; i.e., the conservative and the reformist tendencies. The situation is complicated by the fact that the SZSP, in its activism, is trying to cover the center and the left of the student milieu. The reformists believe that effective political action and union action are not possible under a common banner. They propose a model of a union headquarters and a political organization (perhaps several organizations) joined under a perpetual pact of cooperation. The common origins of both unions could be acknowledged in statutory regulations; e.g., concerning the possibility of dual membership. Such a situation, the optimal one from a theoretical viewpoint, could be implemented if the "political side" of the alliance represented the ideas (the political interests) of the majority of students. The SZSP has not yet attained this status with its program.

The most reasonable solution apparently will be to continue the line of action developed at the third congress. This consists of a total union offering, open to the whole milieu, but it is also comprised of moderate involvement in political activity in accordance with the expectations and the needs of members. The creation of informal structures for discussion and political education, existing side by side with statutory structures, seems necessary. Such structures could become a forum for the activism of those students for whom politics is the primary field of activity in the SZSP. These considerations could turn into fruitless argument when the internal conditions determining the situation in schools take an unexpected course. However, we may assume that schools and students will be successful in determining that their existence will be characterized by the priority of a spirit of tolerance and dialogue.

8536

CSO: 2600/72

RESULTS OF SZSP SUPREME COUNCIL PLENUM REPORTED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 16 Nov 81 pp 1, 5

/Article by Jerzy Godula: "We Are for Accord"/

/Text/ Meeting with Deputy Premier M. Rakowski, Resolution on the matter of the Front of National Accord. Law on higher schools. Conflict in the Higher School of Engineering /WSI/ in Radom. Socio-living conditions of students. Verification of SZSP /Socialist Union of Polish Students/ members.

On Saturday, the 14th of this month, the Fifth Plenum of the Supreme Council /RN/ of the Socialist Union of Polish Students took place in the Warsaw club "Stodola." The deliberations were led by the chairman of the Supreme Council of SZSP--Tadeusz Sawic.

The meeting with participants of the deliberations was attended by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. The Deputy Premier presented the current situation in the country. He stated, among other things, that the constant strikes are causing the destruction of the economy. This results in economic losses but their psychological effects are considerably more dangerous. Strike action, often taken for trivial reasons, does not permit the resumption of normal, regular work. Time and peace are needed in order to come out of the crisis.

M. Rakowski informed that on Monday, the 16th of this month, the draft of the law on the higher school system will be the subject of deliberations of the Council of Ministers. The social draft, prepared by the commission of Z. Resich with attached remarks from the government will be presented to the Sejm. At the same time, the Deputy Premier stated that the conflict at WSI in Radom should be resolved in the school. This results from the binding principle of self-government of higher schools.

The Supreme Council of SZSP passed a resolution on the issue of the Front of National Accord:

The Supreme Council of SZSP, in accordance with its previous declarations and positions, welcomes with satisfaction and hope, efforts on behalf of creating a Front of National Accord--a new form of socio-political life as well as giving it a permanent legally-constitutional character.

The Front of National Accord should bring together all those, who accept the foundations of the socialist system of the Polish People's Republic /PRL/ and especially the social ownership of the means of production and international alliances of the state. The SZSP believes that the calling together and further activity of a Front of National Accord is difficult but the only road to social peace, stability and progress. The Supreme Council of SZSP accepts the proposal of participating in the creation of a Front of National Accord. The Supreme Council of SZSP believes that it is necessary to begin discussions on the goals, structure and activity of a Front of National Accord in the student community. It obliges executive echelons to take up discussions on this subject with other youth and student organizations. The Supreme Council of SZSP supports all rank and file, civic initiatives which lead in this direction.

Subsequently, following the discussion on the subject of the current situation in the academic community, the Supreme Council of the SZSP accepted a declaration on the issue of the law on higher schools. From the beginning of the academic year--we read in the declaration--an atmosphere of distrust and social tension has been mounting in the academic community. Controversy surrounding the comprehension of democracy and school self-government continues to grow in higher schools. Democracy and self-government, not sanctioned by law, are bound to give rise to conflicts while their solutions lead from a rational plane to an emotional one.

The expression of the academic community's striving for a rapid as possible normalization of the legal situation of higher schools--it is stated further on in the declaration--is the social draft of the law on higher schools passed by the Certification Commission on 11 June. From that time, the minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, committed himself a number of times to the immediate presentation of the draft for deliberations of the Sejm. On 18 August, at the meeting in Umiejow, Minister Jerzy Nawrocki--in withdrawing the corrections to the social draft introduced by the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology /MNSzWiT/ --stated that the basis for the work of the Sejm, before the beginning of the new academic year, will be the social draft of the law /on higher schools/. Two months have already passed from this meeting. Again, work on the law is being postponed by the MNSzWiT.

We decidedly oppose--state the members of the Supreme Council of SZSP in connection with this--these kinds of practices. We are treating the announced fixed date of the 16th of this month for the session of the Council of Ministers on the issue of the law--as final. In case it is not kept, the RN SZSP obliges echelons to take up nationwide protest action from the 18th of this month.

At the same time--it was emphasized in the latter part of the declaration--the Executive Committee of the RN SZSP is being obliged to take up discussions with the Sejm Commission on Science and Technological Progress and with delegates from the academic community for the purpose of presenting the draft of the law for deliberations of the Sejm during its next session, taking advantage of the delegate initiative /as published/.

In the next part of deliberations, the chairman of the SZSP School Council /RU/ of the Higher School of Engineering in Radom--Krzysztof Pietrzykowski presented the course of events in his school and also the position taken on the 4th of this month by the RU SZSP, regarding the evaluation and methods of settling the conflict. In connection with this, the Supreme Council of SZSP decided--in a special resolution--to give its full support to the activity of the RU SZSP WSI in Radom, stating concurrently that false information is being disseminated in the country about the nature of the conflict.

In order to preserve the principles of full autonomy and self-government of all Polish schools, we maintain the position--it was emphasized in the resolution--that the Radom issue must be resolved within the school itself without any kind of interference from the outside.

Several documents were accepted, which should become the basis for discussion in the academic community. These are: draft of a system of state financial assistance for students, a position on the issue of a new system of employment, a plan of action for the securing of conditions of health protection for the academic community, a stand on the issue of the student family, a stand on the issue of student nourishment and a stand on the issue of student housing books.

Two documents concern working students--nourishment and lodging as well as student discounts and services as specified by government resolutions.

The subsequent part of deliberations was devoted to the problems of student work and economic activity of SZSP. Documents were accepted pertaining to student work cooperatives, the work cooperative of higher school graduates, student housing construction and a position on management activity of SZSP.

In connection with the frequent interference of the authorities of some schools into the activity and cultural base of the organization--a particularly striking example is the matter of the RU SZSP club "Akant" at Silesian University--the Supreme Council of SZSP has accepted a position in the matter of a base for cultural activity.

In this document, it was recalled that, in accordance with the April settlements of the Commission for Contacts with Student Organizations, all controversial issues, which concern the school base used by student organizations, should be settled in direct contacts between the interested parties--without the administrative interference of school authorities.

A substantial part of the deliberations was occupied by economic conditions of higher studies. A comprehensive program report on this subject was presented by a member of the Executive Committee of the RN SZSP--Krzysztof Pietraszkiewicz.

Furthermore, a declaration was accepted in the matter of the Student Labor Bureau "Student-Service." We are demanding--state the members of RN SZSP in their declaration--prompt and effective action of the ministries concerned, so that by the end of the current year, the bureau will be set in motion.

In the final part of deliberations, a series of decisions was made--interorganizational in nature. Among these is the resolution in regard to the verification of SZSP members and in the matter of the report--election campaign in departmental organizations of SZSP.

Eighteen persons were dismissed from their duties as members of the Supreme Council of the SZSP and 22 persons were accepted into its membership. Andrzej Kaczanowski--at his own request--was relieved of the function as member of the Executive Committee of RN SZSP.

A few words of commentary: the Fifth Plenum of the Supreme Council of SZSP was the most effective plenary session of the current term of office. The Council assumed an attitude, towards all current social problems of the academic community, of specifying the methods of solving them and at the same time, it accepted many--prepared by problem solving commissions--documents, for which students have really been waiting including SZSP members. We will refer back to the accomplishments of the Fifth Plenum of RN SZSP yet many times in our columns.

SCOUT UNION LETTER TO NSZZ SOLIDARITY PUBLISHED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 14 Sep 81 p 2

[Letter from the Supreme Council of the Polish Scout Union to the First Solidarity Congress]

[Text] The presidium of the Supreme Council of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] has had an opportunity to familiarize itself with the draft resolution of the First Solidarity Congress on the sponsorship of an "Independent Scouting Movement" by the NSZZ Solidarity. We were very much surprised by this draft resolution, especially so in view of the fact that--as is well-known--more than 6 months ago, while talks were under way between the National Coordinating Committee of the Solidarity NSZZ representing teachers and educators and a delegation representing ZHP Headquarters, a communique was signed in which both sides expressed a willingness to work toward raising the standards of the civic education programs run by the ZHP in the interest of the welfare and future of Polish children and young people. This draft resolution surprises us all the more in that it advocates the breakup of [our] organization without any attempt to come to terms with those who would be most affected by such an outcome, notwithstanding the fact that a couple of weeks ago the Commander-in-Chief of the ZHP sent a proposal to the chairman of your union's National Consultative Commission in which an offer was made to meet and carry on with the dialogue that had already gotten under way. We take this opportunity to renew this offer.

It seemed to us that in the wake of these negotiations we had reached agreement as to the fact that the strength of the scouting movement had always resided in the notion of unity in diversity, in the longstanding tradition and longevity of the scouting method. It is thanks to these values that the ZHP has always given a good account of itself through all of the difficult periods of our history to the benefit of the country and its people.

We read in the draft resolution of the First Congress of the NSZZ Solidarity that, "the philosophical and methological achievements of the scouting movement have of late been invalidated and frittered away." We cannot accept this. The genuine rebirth of the traditional activities of scout troops and tribes that is now taking place attests to the fact that the scouting ideal is still very much alive, and the ZHP will succeed--as it always has done--in finding within itself many of the forces that are needed to meet the demands that are part and parcel of modern life by returning to its rich, historical traditions. The only thing that is required in order to accomplish this is time. This is because when dealing with a process as sensitive as that of civic education and with an organization as unique as that

represented by the scouting movement, in which various generations, ranging from the youngest to the oldest, play an equal role, no changes are going to be made without difficulty. Such changes are normally made as part of an evolutionary process. Hasty and ill-considered actions could easily cause a great deal of harm both to the spirits of the young people in our charge and also to the spirits of those who are responsible for imparting the values of our society to these young people.

We also read in the draft resolution that, "in spite of the numerous initiatives that have been launched with a view to breathing new life into the meaningful work done by the scouting movement...there is no reason to expect that any changes are going to be made within the framework of the scouting movement that will be responsive to the expectations of the public at large." Neither can we accept this assessment, since the scoutmasters themselves have done most of the talking about the changes taking place within the ZHP. Outside forces have had nothing to do with initiating those developments within the scouting movement that are still going on and helping to improve the work done by our organization. What we are dealing with here is a parallel voicing of expectations calling for improvements in the work done by the scouting movement both within its own organization and within the context of society at large. These expectations boil down first and foremost to issues having to do with the relevance of scouting programs, the independence of the scouting organization, secularism and tolerance for different outlooks and creeds, and a return to the 70-year old legitimate history and traditions of the scouting movement in Poland, to the kind of civic education that is geared toward the child and his needs. At the last ZHP congress all of these demands were appropriately reflected in the new ZHP statute and in the congress platform.

The congress came out in favor of encouraging a multiplicity of world views among ZHP members, and so it follows that it came out against instilling in its members any one particular world view. As the cornerstone of ZHP programs the congress endorsed the notion of "Scouts in Service of the Homeland"--to whatever extent possible based on its resources and capabilities and in keeping with the scouting ideals set forth in the Scout Statute, Charter, and Oath. Acknowledging the inspirational ideological role played by the PZPR, the ZHP congress stressed that--in addition to the ZHP's own traditions--the scouting ideal of civic education also derives sustenance from the social values espoused by socialism: equality, justice, self-sacrifice and a desire to make a better world. While realizing that we subscribe to diverse philosophical beliefs, in a spirit of mutual tolerance, we want to work toward the realization of the common social goals advocated by socialism.

A great many things have already happened in the life of our organization since the end of the Seventh Congress. But it is still too early to assess the meaning of all these changes. The new school year has just begun. It is only now that the resolutions of the Seventh Congress of the ZHP are beginning to be implemented in their entirety. We believe that it will not be before the end of this year that educators in the scouting movement will be able to come up with a responsible assessment as to whether the ZHP has lived up to public expectations.

The ZHP is the heir to a 70-year tradition and it carries on as the torchbearer of the ideals and history of the scouting movement. This forges a bond between the ZHP and certain of the hopes and emotions that are shared by society at large. Attempts to break up the ZHP are an educational error committed by adults to the detriment of children and young people. This is because we believe that in the difficult situation

in which Poland now finds itself what our country needs are fixed points of reference. Especially when it comes to civic education along patriotic lines enormous importance must be assigned to the continuity of national symbols and moral values, and--notwithstanding the severe and often valid criticisms that are voiced from various quarters--we believe that our organization is in fact a standardbearer of these values.

Even so, our cubs and scouts have already been witness to a great many controversies within our nation. Let us try to avoid widening these controversies to include that area of activity which is dearest to our children and young people. Within the ZHP itself there can be room for diverse movements espousing different programs and methodologies that can be practiced in a spirit of respect for the ZHP statute. Scoutmasters from various walks of life, including many members of Solidarity, can and do play an equal role in the running of this organization.

The governing bodies of the ZHP that were elected at the Seventh Congress want to act as quickly as possible to restore the meaningfulness of our organization, an organization which over a span of several generations of Poles has been known as the ZHP.

We believe that in the near future we will be able to sit down around the same table with the leaders of the NSZZ Solidarity so that we can consult on cooperation between your union and a single scouting organization--the ZHP.

11813

CSO: 2600/50

STUDENT PAPER INITIATES SERIES ON RELIGION

Bucharest VIATA STUDENTEASCA in Romanian 11 Nov 81 pp 6, 7

[Article by Milena Mihaescu]

[Text] In this issue we inaugurate a comprehensive investigation aimed at revealing the factors in the persistence of the religious phenomenon, the social and individual causes and conditionings that foster one of the most anachronistic forms of awareness -- religious awareness. The contradiction between the scientific spirit that governs our era and the fundamental traits of socialist society -- on the one hand -- and the maintenance, even isolated, of religious feelings and manifestations -- on the other hand -- needs to be resolved by the uncovering of all the fluctuations of the religious phenomenon, by direct, persuasive, scientific action on the causes, by conducting of a complex activity of dissolving the society's religious remnants in the scientific reality of the epoch, in the prevailing spiritual climate of our socialist society.

By focusing on this important goal, which is necessary from all points of view for the multilateral development of human individuality as our society has planned, we hope that the opinions which VIATA STUDENTEASCA journal will carry starting with this issue will help to clarify the avenues and courses of action in this significant component of student associations' activity which is scientific-materialistic education.

We feel that the questions below are sufficient to cover the problems of this section and will structure the entire publicity campaign of our journal.

1. What is the relationship between social relations and social awareness in the socialist society and how does this relationship reflect on the maintenance (disappearance, proliferation, assertion) of religious awareness?
2. In terms of types of religious community, what are the similarities and differences between "sect" and "denomination?" As it considers itself a form of "protest" against some traditional religious precepts, can we state that the sect actually opposes religious faith?
3. What are the major psychological and social consequences of sect practices? (with examples).

4. What are the sources of supply to the protest manifested by sects against culture and civilization -- a protest whose extreme form is predicting the end of the world?

5. What is the mechanism of influencing of social awareness, of appearance of religious awareness especially among young people? How can we explain the adherence of young people, in the context of the scientific spirit that governs our times, to sectarian practices and concepts?

6. In what manner can the intervention of the collectivity, of youth organizations toward eliminating religious persuasions of some young people become efficient?

1. People's liberation from religious prejudices cannot be achieved outside the process of revolutionary transformation of society. The elimination of private ownership of means of production, the establishment of a society free from exploitation create the objective premises for the removal of economic alienation and -- as a corollary -- for the removal of the ideological alienation of human essence in religion. These objective conditions were created and are upgrading continuously in our country in the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society. The favorable objective conditions that result from the basic features of the socialist society and the increasingly active and efficient impact of the new in people's minds generate the permanent process of their emancipation from religious alienation. That is why the molding of the new man, with a high socialist awareness, with a broad cultural horizon, the multilateral development of human individuality, the transformation of the entire way of work, life and thought of working people in conformance with the principles of socialist ethics and equity, of humanism and the revolutionary concept of the world and life -- dialectical and historical materialism -- are in the center of our party's concerns and represent the supreme goal of our society.

Romania's experience fully confirms the Marxist thesis according to which the building of the new society is the most important factor in the transformation of the people's awareness and their gradual liberation from mystical-religious concepts. In the practical work to build socialism and communism people while transforming nature and social relations, transform themselves. Many sociological studies conducted in this country in recent years point out that the revolutionary changes that have occurred in Romania's social life, the broad access of the masses to education, science and culture, the intensive political-ideological and cultural-educational activity conducted by the Romanian Communist Party have produced essential changes in the spiritual profile of working people, the decline in the intensity and proliferation of the religious phenomenon contributing to the liberation of a large part of the population from the influence of religious concepts. It is an indisputable truth that our socialist society, having established new economic and social relations, full equality of people, direct participation of working people in running society ensures the complete assertion of the human individuality, the liberation of the creative aptitudes of all citizens and in this manner, their emancipation from religious prejudices.

Under these conditions it is natural for us to ask ourselves: "Why do religious ideas still exist in the concepts of people and even young people?" As a rule one answers

this question by invoking the lagging behind in social awareness, a force that preserves religious traditions and customs, the poor scientific-cultural standard, education in the family, and so on. Without minimizing these motivations we feel that it is necessary to point out that the persistence of religious concepts must be explained not only by ideological, educational factors. Although in our society the basic social causes that generate and foster the religious phenomenon were eliminated, this does not mean that all the social causes have disappeared. The economic, social-political and cultural changes, the abolition of the social-material basis that generates social inequities do not automatically result in the disappearance of religious ideas, of the religious feeling. The building of the new society is an extremely complex process in whose context we need to overcome many difficulties, lags, to resolve many contradictions, to overcome many obstacles. The ignoring, by some people, of the possibilities for resolving the contradictions, for removing the shortcomings can foment the religious states of mind. Moreover, following some repeated failures in life, when confronted with material difficulties, relating to integration and adjustment some people, including youngsters, try to seek compensation in religion. Man's incapacity, under certain conditions, to satisfy by real means his material and spiritual needs pushes some toward sham solutions, looking for support in a religious community. Hence, for the purpose of proselytism, the sects take advantage of mishaps in people's lives, the bureaucratic, unconcerned behavior of some bodies or persons entrusted with social duties.

2. In the Romanian language the notion of religious cult is used with the meaning of religion, denomination or with the meaning of the totality of rituals of a religion. Hence if by cult we mean religion, the religious faith, it goes without saying that the sects also are religious denominations. Moreover, in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania and in other laws of this country when there is a reference to religious denominations the reference also includes the religions that have the character of sect, hence those religious communities that developed as a result of breaking away from another traditional religious grouping.

An atheistic, scientifically substantiated propaganda must take account of the characteristics of the various religious denominations and especially of their evolution in this stage.

In terms of the essential features that define religion, the sects do not differ from the other cults. Ideologically every cult represents a distorted, false and illusory concept of the world, man and society, advocating in one or another form faith in supernatural forces. The antiscientific, dogmatic, social-retrograde, antihumanistic functions are common to all cults -- hence also to the sects. Speaking of sects, we may state that by their dogmatism and practices they enhance the negative traits of religion: bigotry, fanaticism, isolation from social life, a refractory attitude to culture and civilization, intolerance in relation to other creeds or life concepts. The sects proclaim as "untrue," "corrupt," "heretical" the religion from which they derive, with each of them claiming to be the carrier of the genuine faith. The so-called "protest" against traditional religious precepts only means replacing one religious creed by another in which the religious concept takes on exacerbated, virulent forms. Moreover, we must take into consideration the fact that the traits, the characteristics of sects are not common in an absolute way, with each of them having its own specific feature and individuality. These differences are even more evident in neoprotestant cults that operate legally in our country (the Baptist,

Pentecostal, 7-day Adventist, Evangelic denominations) and the anarchical, illegal groupings that have a markedly antisocial character, are hostile to the socialist system, prohibit the participation of their believers in civic projects, in political-educational and cultural-artistic events.

3. In the psychological area there is a unilateralization, a nonutilization of the personality of the believer, a hampering of the multilateral and harmonious development of the human individuality, the assertion of man in the fullness of his physical and spiritual aptitudes. Moreover, psychosociological studies conducted in Romania and other countries have indicated that religious dogmatism prevents the development of creativity, fosters mistrust and doubt in the power of science. In the social relations the members of sects tend toward isolation and are not enough involved in social life. The persistence of mystical, retrograde concepts in the thinking of some people prevents their full assertion in the life of society, is in contradiction with the new nature of socialist relations, with the humanistic essence of our system, with the scientific spirit of our times.

Quite alien to the socialist way of life are the fanatical, antihuman practices (rejection of medical means in curing diseases, incredibly cruel mistreatment of children and adolescents for the purpose of driving out the devil, antistate deeds, and so on) promoted by illegal religious sects.

4. Each headway in the field of culture and civilization has meant a heavy blow to religion. The fundamental opposition between scientific knowledge and religious belief also involves sectarian ideology. In order to survive, various denominations have attempted to subordinate culture to religious dogmas or, at present, to conciliate science with religion along the line of so-called "modernization." The sects elected the path of ignorance, minimalization, and some reached a refractory attitude of contempt and rejection of all that means science, culture because of absolutization of the literal meaning of the Bible. Such an attitude is motivated by the fact that the Bible contains all that a believer needs to know, without the need for culture, science. Science is considered as true only to the degree that it does not contradict the Bible.

Proceeding from some biblical texts, ignoring the modern scientific achievements, the sects propagate apocalyptic concepts on the close end of the world and judgment day. Such ideas generate among the members of the sect a climate of depression, demoralization, impotence in face of the inevitable destiny. Worthy of note is the fact that such predictions about the end of the world are noticed on the eve of natural cosmic events, which moreover are scientifically predictable and explainable (comets, eclipses, and so on) or during times of crisis experienced by mankind in one or another period.

Life has confirmed the absurdity of biblical predictions, the world continues to exist, and the earth, even though it has slowed down its motion around the sun by one fraction of a second, nevertheless is turning.

5. The mechanism of the religion's influencing the individual's mind is extremely complex. Petre Datculescu, in an interesting psychosocial survey conducted among young people, points out that religiosity is an instrumental-functional attitude generated in the process of interaction between subjective internal conditions and

objective external conditions, consisting of affective and behavioral cognitive relations unified by belief in the existence of the supernatural and orientated toward illusory compensation, by means of a religious system of reference, of some real or assumed inadequacies and disharmonies on the subjective plane and in the social life of the individual.

It follows from this that the formation of religious awareness is not only the outcome of ignorance and lack of knowledge. Consequently, to the religious concept we must oppose not only science but also all our outlook on the world and society. The activity of materialistic-scientific education must be conceived multilaterally, the transmission of scientific knowledge must be followed by materialistic philosophical conclusions. Only in this way atheistic propaganda will transmit not only knowledge, but will also form beliefs, attitudes, ideals. The advances of modern science, the spectacular leaps in human knowledge cannot be fully understood if one leaves out the Marxist philosophical outlook, the laws of materialistic dialectics; specialized knowledge is not sufficient in itself and does not spontaneously lead to a scientific outlook of the world. It must be sown on the fertile field of the dialectical and historical materialist outlook of the world and society.

The adherence of some young people to religious activity is also explained by the refined means used by sects. The propagation of relations characterized by solidarity and mutual assistance, material aid among the members of a denomination, cultural and artistic events (songs, choirs, musical bands, trips, classes for learning how to play musical instruments) are aimed at drawing young people into sects, especially when in the microcollective to which these people belong the material and spiritual needs of the young people are neglected.

6. The major objectives of the activity of atheistic education must focus on reinforcing the scientific, dialectical materialistic concept of the world and life, the upgrading of the overall level of knowledge, the systematic cultivation of philosophical, social and human values central to our society, combating of retrograde, mystical-religious manifestations.

For the elimination of religious concepts and prejudices it is necessary to conduct a constant, systematic work, by using the method of scientific persuasion and argumentation. Practice has proved that one cannot fight against religious ideology with general phrases. Young people must be persuaded with philosophical, scientific and practical arguments. This, on the one hand. On the other hand, more attention must be paid to human relations in the work and study collectives, to the creation of a communist climate of work and creation, of genuine human solidarity. The principles of socialist ethics and equity must be everyday occurrences. Receptivity in terms of the needs of young people must be a concern of all managerial and decision-making factors. The student collectives, the Union of Communist Youth organizations have all the conditions for creating this climate in which young people would feel the comradely support of their colleagues for weal or woe. Socialist humanism involves the achievement of personal happiness in the context of the happiness of all the people. The spirit of humanism, a trait characteristic of the ethics of our people, is imperative as a prevailing feature of the relations among young people.

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES U.S. BUSINESSMEN--Bucharest, 14 Dec (AGERPRES)--President Nicolae Ceausescu received on December 14 Milton Rosenthal, president of the administration board of the "Engelhard Minerals and Chemicals", chairman for the U.S. of the Romanian-American Economic Council, and Charles Frank, vice president of the administration board of the "Salomon Brothers" of the U.S., now paying a visit to Romania. Possibilities for developing the Romanian-American economic exchanges and cooperation were discussed. Some aspects of the world economic situation as well as of the international political life were also approached. It was assessed that the current interest rates in the international financial market were an obstacle in expanding economic exchanges and cooperation, and that measures were required for interest rates to be lowered to a rational level. Likewise, the necessity was stressed that action should be taken for halting the arms race, for the establishment of a climate of peace, understanding and collaboration among nations. The interview passed in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [AU142025 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2000 GMT 14 Dec 8.]

CSO: 2020/14

NEW SLOVENIAN CULTURAL REVIEW EXPECTED SOON

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 81 p 9

[Article by Vlado Zagorac: "The Journal, at Last"]

[Text] A recent decision by the publishing council of the Cankarjeva Publishing House in Ljubljana to approve an act establishing a new journal, the origination of which was proposed a year and a half ago by a group of sixty Slovenian cultural workers, has in effect provided the essential basis for the public appearance of the new journal.

The uncertainty and impatience of the originators, which has lasted for several months and has frequently developed into nervousness, has thus been brought to an end. In the near future, the public can expect to see in kiosks and on the shelves of bookdealers the title page of the new journal, the name of which is not yet known, although it is known that it will have the format and size of the existing journal SODOBNIK.

In addition to this, the precisely defined concept behind this literary and critical innovation is also well known. Its authors will deal with cultural, cultural-artistic literary and critical issues, but under no conditions with philosophical or sociological issues, as they themselves desired, and, on several occasions following the agreement that was reached, tried to secure permission to do.

A year and a half of waiting for the birth of a new literary and critical journal is really not a short period. If one, however, takes into account the fact that this started with a letter, that was vague and full of contradictions, from the sixty signatories to Mitja Ribicic, who in their opinion could approve the initiation of such a publication himself--then this period takes on another dimension. This was the sometimes stubborn insistence on their own position, on the basis of which it was demanded that the journal be for philosophical and sociological (social) issues, with a "bicameral" form of self-management of the journal, in which one house would be composed of the interested parties, and the other would be formed under the publishing council.

Time "wasted" in this way on creating a public tribunal, which cannot reflect the interests of the originators alone but rather the interests of the broader social community, as well as those for whom the journal is intended, cannot, however, be considered lost time.

Unfortunately, Dimitrij Rupel could not hold out, and on his own initiative, in the middle of October, sent an open letter to Tone Pavcek: it was published several days ago. He is in effect trying to deal with all of the nonsympathizers, obstructionists, and authorities who are "deliberately delaying or even questioning again the possibility of initiating the new journal." Tone Pavcek has thus found himself playing a triple role: as the editor of the Cankareva Publishing House, as the president of the Society of Slovenian Writers (sixty members of which were among the originators), and as a writer who is a colleague of the originators (for all of this he has to bear the brunt of the public accusations enumerated by Dimitrij Rupel).

One is left with the impression that Dimitrij Rupel has turned his previous dissatisfaction with the fact that the journal has not yet appeared against everything and everyone.

19909

CSO: 2800/98

YUGOSLAVIA

CONTROVERSY BETWEEN SERBIAN, MACEDONIAN ORTHODOX CHURCHES OUTLINED

Scopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 10 Oct 81 SABOTA Supplement p 5

[Article by Pande Kolemishovski: "Wall of Separation"]

[Text] What are the stipulations for recognizing the autocephalic nature of the Macedonian Orthodox Church by the Serbian Orthodox Church? Is this unresolved question of a strictly clerical nature or does it have broader political aspects?

It is safe to assume that those who have followed more closely the development of relations between church and state and between churches themselves in Yugoslavia, particularly the area of relations between the Macedonian and Serbian Orthodox Churches, have not ignored two aspects of this question. Specifically, this applies to the announcement by the session of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia which, among others, discusses relations between the two churches, and, secondly, the interview granted by Angelarij, archbishop of Ohrid and Macedonia, head of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, to the Tanjug news agency, which describes and analyzes the essence of the "misunderstandings" briefly and quite openly.

Let us repeat that the communication stresses that the "quicker settlement of relations between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the recognition of the autonomy of the Macedonian Orthodox Church would be of great importance in the further successful development of relations and cooperation between church and state."

In an effort to learn more details on the view of the presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, we had two discussions of several hours each on this matter in Belgrade with Zhivomir Stankovik, chairman of the Republic Commission on Relations with Religious Communities in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, who gave our newspaper an official statement. The statement, which also answers most of the questions, is printed here in its entirety.

Position of the Socialist Republic of Serbia

The clear conclusion formulated by the presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia on the question of the recognition of the Macedonian Orthodox Church on the part of the Serbian Orthodox Church accurately expressed the view of the state organs and the public of the Socialist Republic of Serbia on the matter. The autonomy of the Macedonian Orthodox Church is an unquestionable fact. This is confirmed

also by our good relations and cooperation with the Macedonian Orthodox Church. Let me cite as an illustration of these relations my presence at the installation of the new head of the Macedonian Orthodox Church Angelarij, archbishop of Okhrid and Macedonia, at which I presented the congratulations of the Commission on Relations with Religious Communities of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, with wishes for very successful work. My speech contained our familiar views regarding the autonomy of the Macedonian Orthodox Church.

The unresolved problems between the two churches have caused widespread displeasure not only in the Macedonian Orthodox Church but also beyond it. Let us point out that this matter is of political significance as well and that its faster resolution is in the interest of the entire Yugoslav community, the strengthening of fraternity and unity among our peoples and nationalities and our community.

The pertinent authorities in the Socialist Republic of Serbia have insisted that the problem be resolved in the past as well. In presenting our viewpoint, we have always stressed that the positive solution of the problem of the recognition of the Macedonian Orthodox Church is in the interest of the entire country. As a result of our united insistence, talks were held between members of the church commissions of the Serbian and Macedonian Orthodox Churches in Prokhor Pchinski and Kalishta in 1978 and 1979 at which these problems were discussed. However, these meetings did not fulfill the hope that the process of normalizing relations between the two churches would be speeded up.

Bearing in mind that the problem of the autocephalic nature of the Macedonian Orthodox Church is important to our entire public, we have always insisted that this matter must be resolved on a national level. A meeting of chairmen of republic and area commissions and of the Commission on Relations with Religious Communities of the Union Executive Council was held in Topola at the beginning of last year, at which suggestions and conclusions were adopted, which stipulated that in addition to the authorities of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Socialist Republic of Macedonia, the authorities of the other republics and areas and of the federation should become involved in the resolution of this problem.

It is a fact that the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Macedonian Orthodox Church can resolve this problem between themselves. However, we must point out that this matter will have not only domestic-political but international consequences, presenting an opportunity for a variety of political intrigues and speculations. For this reason as well, the quick settlement of relations and the recognition of the Macedonian Orthodox Church is of particular importance. All of this indicates that this matter must be resolved strictly on domestic grounds and that no other side factors should become involved.

In the future as well the authorities in the Socialist Republic of Serbia will continue to work on the successful solution of this problem on the basis of the common public interest on the basis of proper findings and public positions.

However, responsibility for settling these relations and ensuring the final solution of the matter falls on the Serbian and Macedonian Orthodox Churches. It is the responsibility of the Serbian Orthodox Church to take the public interest into consideration and to recognize the Macedonian Orthodox Church on the basis of its position and role in this matter.

In my view, this would be facilitated by the fact that in the discussions of this matter, the representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church have shown their respect for our statutory decisions regarding the national question and have not questioned the national individuality of the Macedonian people and their equal status among the other nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia, concluded Zhivomir Stankovik.

We feel free to quote a few statements made by our interlocutor without his preliminary agreement, made at the meeting of the presidency, a statement which was not classified "for internal use only," "confidential" or "strictly confidential." "Bearing in mind the political significance of the matter," he states, "we shall continue to do everything possible for the resolution of the problem by pointing out in our direct contacts with the Serbian Orthodox Church the broad political significance of the recognition of the autocephalic status of the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the negative consequences which appear and may worsen as a result of the attitude of the Serbian toward the Macedonian Orthodox Church."

Although not in the context of this problem, let us cite another excerpt from Stankovik's statement: "In Serbia," he said, "acting on the basis of great-Serbian nationalism among the Serbian Orthodox Church would be most damaging and most dangerous to us. This is especially noted among a rather compact group of conservative theologians whose destructive activities are influencing the leadership of the Serbian Orthodox Church in following a course of worsening relations with the public."

Position of the Churches

The Serbian Orthodox Church considers the recognition of the Macedonian Orthodox Church exclusively from its own viewpoint and interests. Its representatives emphasize that the question of granting autocephalic status to the Macedonian Orthodox Church will be considered at the next ecumenical council.

Whereas those unfamiliar with church relations may view this as the possibility of recognizing the church, according to the Macedonian Orthodox Church this has not occurred in the case of most orthodox churches and of the Serbian Orthodox Church itself, for the ecumenical council did not grant its autocephalic status which it acquired from the patriarch in Constantinople, under whose jurisdiction it was. Macedonian Orthodox Church circles interpret the insistence that the question be resolved at the ecumenical council as a categorical refusal to grant autonomy. The explanation is quite simple: an ecumenical council is held once every 1,000 years if at all.

It is a known fact that Patriarch German, head of the Serbian Orthodox Church, has repeatedly answered accusations that the Serbian Orthodox Church is not recognizing the Macedonian Orthodox Church for nationalistic reasons by stating that the Serbian Orthodox Church recognizes the existence of a Macedonian nation and respects the statutory decisions on the national question. The Macedonian church and others consider this statement as a mere formal declaration, for the very nonrecognition of the church clearly conflicts with such statements and with the basic views of the Serbian Orthodox Church according to which orthodox churches are national churches.

Angelarij, Archbishop of Ohrid and Macedonia, pointed out in the Tanjug interview that the essence of the "misunderstanding" is found in the national character of the

church. "As an individual nation," he said, "the Macedonian people have all the canonical and historical rights of an autocephalic church. The Serbian Orthodox Church is the autocephalic church of the Serbian people, and as such, there are no canons, church rules and state norms or stipulations in the Yugoslav constitution according to which it is also the church of the Macedonian people who are not a national minority within Yugoslavia but a nation with its national state."

Position of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia

In discussing this topic, Dr Gorgi Tsatsa, chairman of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia Republic Commission on Relations with Religious Communities, stated that the respective agencies in our republic are categorical in their position to the effect that the question of the autocephalic nature of the Macedonian Orthodox Church can be resolved within Yugoslavia, thus asserting in this matter as well the unity among Yugoslav nations and nationalities and cut short hostile speculations in Yugoslavia and abroad on unsettled problems between the two churches. The Macedonian authorities are also confident that this question will be resolved, as was the case with the national problem in Yugoslavia, in its entirety, on the basis of national autonomy and fraternity and unity among nations. Hence the summoning of an ecumenical council is totally unacceptable to us, Gorgi Tsatsa stated.

Reasons for the Dispute

The clash between the Serbian and the Macedonian Orthodox Churches has deeper roots and a longer history. A very long explanation would be required if we were to cover all aspects of this extremely complex matter. Let us only point out briefly that the foundations of the Macedonian Orthodox Church were laid as early as the 10th century. In May 1767, by decree of the Turkish Sultan Mustafa III, the Okhrid archbishopric, which had been active for 800 years, was illegally abolished. Since then, the Macedonian church has been under several jurisdictions. The root of the argument between the two churches dates from 1919-1920, when the Macedonian church fell under Serbian jurisdiction. Macedonia raised the question of an autonomous church as early as World War II, in 1943, and particularly immediately after the liberation, in 1945.

The decision to restore the old Okhrid archbishopric, to be known as the Macedonian Orthodox Church, was passed at the Second Macedonian Church-People's Council which was held from 4-6 October 1958. The decision and, therefore, the autonomy of the Macedonian Orthodox Church was accepted at the May-June 1959 session of the Serbian Orthodox Church Council. The council documents stipulate that Macedonia has its own orthodox church. A resolution exists stipulating that the bylaws of the Serbian Orthodox Church will no longer apply to the parishes and prelates (territories and clergy) in the Macedonian People's Republic. The Macedonian Orthodox Church retained the status of sister church of the Serbian Orthodox Church by acknowledging Patriarch German as its official head but without granting him any greater power. Patriarch German confirmed the autonomy of the Macedonian Orthodox Church repeatedly by celebrating mass in Skopje in 1959 and in Okhrid in 1962.

The real "war" began before 1967 but developed particularly after that, when in July of that year the Macedonian Orthodox Church passed a resolution on the renovation of the autocephalic nature of the Okhrid archbishopric and when the now-deceased Dositej was crowned head of the Macedonian Orthodox Church and archbishop

of Okhrid and Macedonia. It was as of that point that the Serbian Orthodox Church undertook to do everything possible to negate that which it had already actually recognized. It was since that time that most frequently relations between the two churches have been rated as "typically cold and extremely tense."

A Historical Fact

The Macedonian Orthodox Church and Macedonian state and political organs have made repeated attempts to resolve this question but have been repeatedly rebuffed by the Serbian Orthodox Church although no canonical or other church obstacles to the recognition of the autocephalic status exist. If the existence of the Macedonian Orthodox Church is a historical fact and if it has been recognized by all other churches, religious communities in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Orthodox clergy, with whom it has cooperated well and it maintains good relations, the Serbian Orthodox Church seems to be ignoring the changes which have taken place in the past and disregarding the will of the Serbian people who today live in a state of unbreakable fraternal union with the Macedonian people and with the other nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia.

Hence the question: Is it that the Serbian Orthodox Church does not have the Christian and the moral obligation to contribute to the further political stabilization of Yugoslavia through the recognition of the autonomy of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, which would put an end to all political speculations at home and abroad concerning international relations within the country? This is expected both by the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the Macedonian and Serbian peoples. They expect of the Serbian Orthodox Church to honor all the other recognitions, particularly in the light of the statement made by its own representatives on having good relations with the state. Unquestionably, it takes two to have good relations.

Obviously, that is how the Serbian Orthodox Church will prove its Christian love for and the desire for a peaceful life among the people, to which it is bound by the church canons, thus practically confirming the familiar old thesis that the church is a "community for love, forgiveness and justice."

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